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Mochica: Grammatical topics and external relations

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Chapter 7. Nominalization

Mochica is rich in nominalizations, presenting both lexical and grammatical types. Despite the prominence of nominalization in Mochica, there has not been a systematic treatment of the various nominalization strategies so far. I present in this chapter my attempt to classify and describe lexical and grammatical nominalization in Mochica. While lexical nominalization produces items that can be grouped in the lexical category of noun, grammatical nominalization generates nominal expressions with no lexical status (Shibatani & Awadh 2009: 9, 22).

In 7.1. I describe lexical nominalization in Mochica, introducing the four nominalizing suffixes in the language: <-(V)çVc> / <(V)ssVc> ‘event nominalizer’ (section 7.1.1.1.), <-(V)pVc> ‘agentive nominalizer’ (section 7.1.1.2.), <-tVc> ‘locative nominalizer’ (section 7.1.1.3.), and <-Vc> locative/instrumental nominalizer (section 7.1.1.4.). The suffix <-Vc> is of particular interest, not only for its wide range of possible meanings, but also because the other three nominalizers end in this form, suggesting diachronic links that I will try to explore at the end of section 7.1. Section 7.2. of this chapter provides evidence of deadjectival and stative nominalization. Section 7.3. concentrates on grammatical nominalization, examining examples of nominalizations serving a relativization function (section 7.3.1.), a complementation function (section 7.3.2.), and an adverbial function (section 7.3.3.). At the end of this chapter, in 7.4., I offer a summary and present conclusions.

7.1. Lexical Nominalization

7.1.1. Deverbal lexical nominalization

I have been able to identify four nominalizing suffixes which filled the function of creating nouns from verbs in Mochica; these are listed in Table 20 and described in detail in the present section.

Table 20. Mochica deverbal nominalizing suffixes

Form	Type of nominalizer	Example	Section
<-(V)çVc> <-(V)ssVc>	event	<læm-> ‘to die’ <læmiçæc> ‘death’	7.1.1.1.
<-(V)pVc>	agentive	<chi-co-> ‘to be-CAUS-’= ‘to create’ <chicopæc> ‘creator’	7.1.1.2.
<-tVc>	locative/container	<caxll-> ‘to urinate’ <caxlltæc> ‘bladder’	7.1.1.3.
<-Vc>	locative, instrumental, etc.	<man-> ‘to drink’ <manic> ‘drinking vessel’	7.1.1.4.

7.1.1.1. The event nominalizer <-(V)çVc> / <-(V)ssVc¹²⁰>

Following Comrie & Thompson ([1985] 2007: 334-336), the suffix <-çVc> / <-ssVc> can be identified as an action/state nominalizer, which creates an “action noun”. This kind of nominalization behaves differently from the lexical nominalizations presented in 7.1.1.2. and 7.1.1.3., in that it retains some verbal properties, as is typical of action nouns (Comrie & Thompson ([1985] 2007: 334).

¹²⁰ As can be seen in examples (205) and (207), <-çVc> / <-ssVc> are just variant orthographic representations of the same sound.

I call the nominalizer <-(V)çVc> / <(V)-ssVc> an ‘event nominalizer’, although it could also be considered a resultative nominalizer. For instance, the noun <fæpiçæc> ‘dream’, derived from the verb <fæp->, could be taken as the result of the action of dreaming and be considered an objective noun, according to Comrie & Thompson ([1985] 2007: 334).

According to Carrera (1644: 144), both <chiçæc> and <chiçæc> mean “existence, will, understanding, judgement, knack, habit”¹²¹. Additionally, Carrera (1644: 146) assigns more meanings to <chiçæc>: “grace, goodness and everything said in the previous explanation”¹²².

(205) <chiçæc>	(Carrera 1644: 5)
chi- çæc	
be- EVENT.NMLZ	
‘grace, understanding’	

This nominalization behaves as the head of a noun phrase, taking both possessor modifiers, as in (206) where <chiçæc> bears the possessive marker <-r>, and other modifiers such as demonstratives, as shown in (207). According to Carrera (1644: 5), the final <c> of the segment <-çVc> / <-ssVc> of this nominalization becomes <r> when found possessed in a possessive construction: <chiçæc> changes into <chiçæc>.

¹²¹ “el ser, la voluntad, el entendimiento, el juicio, la maña, la costumbre, &c” Carrera (1644: 144).

¹²² “la gracia, el bien, y todo lo que queda dicho en la otra explicacion” Carrera (1644: 144).

(206) <peño tzhæng chiçær> (Carrera 1644: 256)

peñ- o tzhæng chi- çær
 good- REL₁ 2SG.GEN be- EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘your good grace’

(207) <mo nopæto chissæc> (Carrera 1644: 242)

mo nopæt- o chi- ssæc
 DET.PROX four- REL₁ be- EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘these four things¹²³’

As stated above, this kind of nominalization tends to retain some verbal properties such as the preservation of arguments, as can be observed in (208):

(208) <cutzhio maniçæc> (Carrera 1644: 255)

cutzhio mani- çæc
 chicha¹²⁴ drink- EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘the drinking/consumption of chicha’

Spanish loan verbs in Mochica are nominalized with the aid of the copular verb <loc->; see example (209).

(209) <comulgar læssæc> (Carrera 1644: 228)

comulgar læ- ssæc
 receive communion be- EVENT.NMLZ
 ‘communion’

¹²³ The text is only written in Mochica, but according to the context and the topic, ‘these four things’ are the *Novissima*, the last things every man has to face: Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell according to Catholic eschatology.

¹²⁴ Alcoholic drink made from fermented maize.

This nominalized copular verb <loc> can be found in (210) as relational preceding <fænæc> (spatial relation, postposition), which requires the oblique-genitive, it appears modified by the demonstrative <çio> in (210).

(210)	<Çio confessar læzcær e fænæc ¹²⁵ >	(Carrera 1644: 233)
	Çio confessar læ- zcær e fænæc	
	DET.ANA confess be- EVENT.NMLZ OBL ACOL	
	‘According to that confession’	

7.1.1.2. The agentive nominalizer <-(V)pæc>

Carrera (1644: 93) defines the suffix <-(V)pæc> as a participle, and interestingly he highlights the adjectival properties of such participles, and actually refers to them as adjectives¹²⁶. He also makes a distinction between active (agentive nominalizer) and passive (stative nominalizer) participles. Most Mochica researchers refer to the agentive nominalizer/nominalization as an “active participle”. For instance, Middendorf (1892: 111), Hovdhaugen (2004: 42), and Salas (2011a: 134¹²⁷) use Carrera’s terminology, whereas Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 339-340) uses the term “agentive nominalization”. The suffix <-(V)pæc> is indeed an agentive nominalizer, as defined by Comrie & Thompson ([1985] 2007: 337), which derives nominals meaning

¹²⁵ <fænæc> is segmentable; it is a spatial relation term meaning ‘according’.

¹²⁶ Carrera (1644: 93): “El participio es vn adjetivo, que se deriua de verbo, y significa tiempo. Los participios son dos vno de actiua, como *mitapæc*, y es declinable, y otro de passiuua, como *mètedo*, y es indeclinable, el de actiua se acaba en *pæc*, y el de *passiuua* en *do*”.

¹²⁷ Salas (2011a: 134) uses the term Participio Activo to identify this nominalizer and considers it different from the nominalizer “-ssæ-”, which he considers an infix.

‘one which [verbs]’. The agentive nominalization in Mochica can take monovalent verbs (211) and bivalent verbs (212) as bases.

(211) <chipæc>

chi- pæc

be- AG.NMLZ

‘the one who is/exists’, ‘the being’

(212) <mitapæc>

mit- apæc

bring- AG.NMLZ

‘the one who brings (something)’, ‘the bringer’

Comrie & Thompson ([1985] 2007: 337) assert that the process of agentive nominalization can be unconstrained, as in the case of Tagalog, where any verb or adjective can derive a noun meaning ‘the one which [verbs]’, while in English some stative verbs cannot be used in agentive nominalizations. Nevertheless, as can be noted in example (211), Mochica allows agentive nominalizations of stative verbs, namely <chi-> ‘to be’, ‘to exist’. Example (213) suggests that Mochica might accept most stative verbs as a base for this process. In example (213), the nominalized verb is the copular verb <loc->. Copular verb <loc-> seems to be originally <*l->. This can be observed more clearly when checking the cases of its event nominalization as <l-æssæc> and its agentive nominalization as <l-apæc>.

(213) <Xllaxll læpæcô mecherræc>

(Carrera 1644: 136)

Xllaxll l- æpæc -ô mecherræc

Money be- AG.NMLZ -REL₁ woman

‘The woman who has the money’

The agentive nominalization can have a predicative function, as demonstrated in (214):

- (214) Faiñapæc ô tzhang (Carrera 1644: 136)
- | | | | |
|-------|---------|------------------|--------|
| Faiñ- | apæc | ô | tzhang |
| lie- | AG.NMLZ | REL ₁ | 2SG |
- ‘You are a liar’

Agentive nominalizations in Mochica can also include objects, as in (215) and (216):

- (215) <chang tunapæc> (Carrera 1644: 44)
- | | | |
|---------|-------|---------|
| chang | tun- | apæc |
| brother | kill- | AG.NMLZ |
- ‘murderer’

- (216) <Tzhang aiapæco tzhang chicopæco Dios> (Carrera 1644: 163)
- | | | | | | | |
|--------|-------|----------|------------------|--------|------|-------|
| Tzhang | ai- | apæc- | o | tzhang | chi- | co- |
| 2SG | make- | AG.NMLZ- | REL ₁ | 2SG | be- | CAUS- |
-
- | | | |
|----------|------------------|------|
| pæc- | o | Dios |
| AG.NMLZ- | REL ₁ | God |
- ‘God who made and created you’

The nominalization <chicopæc> ‘creator’ in example (216), attested frequently in the 1644 grammar, is an agentive nominal that results from the nominalization of the copular verb <chi-> following its increase in valency by means of the causative <-co>.

The final consonant changing rule (<c> > <r>) found in other types of nominalizations does not apply in agentive nominalization as part of possessive constructions. As seen in section 7.1.1.1., the event nominalization changes <c> into <r> in possessive constructions. It will be demonstrated that the same rule applies to locative nominalizations (section 7.1.1.3.) and to place and instrumental nominalizations (section 7.1.1.4.). When possessed, agentive nominalizations take the suffix <-æss>. Carrera (1644: 5) offers the following examples: <chicopæc> changes into <chicopæcæss> ‘my creator’; <funocopæc> into <funocopæcæss> ‘my provider’, etc. This suffix is identical in form to the relational suffix used to mark alienable possessed items and to the deadjectival nominalizer <-Vss>. In section 7.2., I attempt to explain why this might be the same suffix.

In Mochica, combination of the agentive nominalization and a personal clitic generates a construction that has habitual aspect, as shown in (217) and (218):

(217) <mitapæcoiñ> (Carrera 1644: 5)

mit	-apæc-	o	=iñ
bring	-AG.NMLZ-	REL	=1SG

‘I always bring’/‘I am the bringer’

(218) <famapæcoiñ> (Carrera 1644: 5)

fam	-apæc-	o	=iñ
cry	-AG.NMLZ-	REL	=1SG

‘I always cry’ / ‘I am the cryer’

In order to achieve this kind of habitual interpretation with Spanish loan verbs, the order of the constituents is changed, as illustrated in (219) and (220). The nominalized copular verbs precede the Spanish loan verbs in both examples.

(219) <ləpæcoiñ confessar> (Carrera 1644: 149)

l-	æpæc-	o	=iñ	confessar
be-	AG.NMLZ-	REL	=1SG	confess

‘I always confess’

(220) <ləpæcoiñ comulgar> (Carrera 1644: 157)

l-	æpæc-	o	=iñ	comulgar
be-	AG.NMLZ-	REL	=1SG	receive communion

‘I always receive communion’

According to Carrera (1644), the Mochica verb <caf> is undeclinable. This is probably why it behaves in the same way as the Spanish loan verbs, as shown in (221).

(221) <ləpæcoz caf> (Carrera 1644: 149)

l-	æpæc-	o	=z	caf
be-	AG.NMLZ-	REL	=2SG	work

‘You always work’

Another case to be considered exceptional in the formation of these habitual constructions is the requirement of some bisyllabic¹²⁸ verbs to occur in a periphrastic construction involving the copular verb <loc-> ‘to be’, as in (222).

¹²⁸ Hovdhaugen (2004: 42) notes: “There are some bisyllabic verbs that form the present participle not by adding the suffix -(a)pæc to the stem but with a periphrastic construction with the verb *loc* “to be” [...]”.

- (222) <mañaplæpæcoiñ> (Carrera 1644: 148)
- | | | | | |
|-------|-----|---------|-----|------|
| mañap | l- | æpæc- | o | =iñ |
| say | be- | AG.NMLZ | REL | =1SG |
- ‘I always say’

The same happens with verbs like <michic> ‘to answer’ (Carrera 1644: 152) and <mællæc> ‘to talk’ (Carrera 1644: 156).

7.1.1.3. The locative nominalizer <-tVc> / <-tVr>

Comrie and Thompson ([1985] 2007: 340) explain that some languages have devices for creating deverbal nominalizations that derive a noun meaning ‘a place where [verb] happens’. The Mochica suffix <-tVc> can be analyzed as a locative (container type) nominalizer. It is often found in body-container part terms. These terms are attested with the following endings <-tic>, <-tæc>, <-tuc>, <-tær>, <-tærr>.

In Mochica this nominalizer appears to undergo the same change of the final <c> into <r>, as discussed in 7.1.1.1. in relation to the possessive constructions with event/result nominalizations. The variants <-tær>, <-tærr> are most certainly possessed forms ending in <-r> which correspond to nominalizations that form part of possessive constructions.

While some body part terms can be analyzed fairly transparently as lexical nominalizations, other cases are impossible to interpret due to the scarcity of known vocabulary in this language. For instance, in the case of (223) <caxlltæc> ‘bladder’ (Carrera 1644: 180), which is derived from <caxll> ‘urine’ (Carrera 1644: 180) or ‘the urine’ or ‘to urinate’ (Carrera 1644: 100), the etymology appears transparent, and one can suggest that it refers to a container or the place where urine is contained.

(223) <caxlltæc>		(Carrera 1644: 180)
caxll-	tæc	
urinate-	LOC.NMLZ	
‘bladder’		

Along the same lines, the following cases are easy to interpret. The body part term <eiz-tic> is recorded as ‘the mother of the generation’,¹²⁹ (Carrera 1644: 180) or ‘uterus’. Its structure can be segmented into <eiz> ‘child’ and <tVc>, the locative nominalizer. Because of the flexibility of Mochica word classes, <eiz> can be interpreted as a verb related to having children, such as ‘to beget’ or ‘to procreate.’ This way, <eiz-tic> could mean ‘the container where a child is begotten’, or the ‘place where a child is contained.’ However, cases such as <cqan-tic> ‘eyelid’; <pi-tær> (<*pitæc>) ‘esophagus’; and <laf-tic> ‘ribs’ are more difficult to segment while the derived nominals refer to body parts that can easily be conceived as containers, the stems <cqan->, <pi->, and <laf-> are not attested in Carrera (1644). Table 21 offers more examples with body part terms with the locative nominalizer <-tVc>. In summary, in Mochica, as in other languages, many nouns referring to body parts are nominalizations.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Carrera (1644: 180): ‘la madre de la generacion’.

¹³⁰ According to Yeh (2011: 562) in Saisiyat, an Austronesian language, nouns referring to body parts are derived from verbs.

Table 21. Body parts terms in Mochica: Locative nominalizations with suffix <-tVc>

<cyan-tic>	‘el parparo’ (Carrera 1644: 177)	‘eyelid’
<pi-tær>	‘el tragadero de la vianda que va al buche’ (Carrera 1644: 178)	‘esophagus’
<al-tærr>	‘la garganta’ (Carrera 1644: 178)	‘throat’
<focal-tæc ¹³¹ >	‘el ombro’ (Carrera 1644: 178)	‘shoulder’
<xeme-tæc>	‘el sobaco’ (Carrera 1644: 178)	‘armpit’
<laf-tic>	‘las costillas’ (Carrera 1644: 178)	‘ribs’
<faca-tæc>	‘las ingles’ (Carrera 1644: 179)	‘groin’
<olme-tuc>	‘la rauadilla’ (Carrera 1644: 179)	‘coccyx’
<caxll- tæc>	‘la vegiga’ (Carrera 1644: 180)	‘bladder’
<eiz-tic>	‘la madre de la generacion’ (Carrera 1644: 180)	‘uterus, womb’
<xllon ¹³² -tærr>	‘buche’ (Carrera 1644: 180)	‘stomach’

Source: Carrera (1644: 177-180)

¹³¹ <foc altæc> ‘shoulder’ and <altærr> (<*altæc>) ‘throat’ seem to be sharing the same verb base for the locative nominalization.

¹³² <xllon> is attested as ‘food’ or ‘bread’, but this specific case could involve the verb ‘to eat’.

7.1.1.4. *Place and instrumental nominalizer <-Vc>*

In what follows, I present the different realizations of the suffix <-Vc>, a nominal inflectional suffix that is present in various nominal contexts in Mochica. The suffix <-Vc> is another element that is often found as a nominalizer, and it appears to be highly productive and versatile in use. Concerning the Mochica verb <man-> ‘to drink, to eat’, it is interesting that <manic> can be identified as a) <man-ic>, instrumental or locative nominalization ‘cup, drinking or eating vessel’; b) <man-ic>, the same instrumental nominalization that can be used metaphorically referring to a ‘sensuous man or woman’, person to be owned; or c) <man-ic>, place nominalization ‘brothel’ and ‘dining room’.

- (224) <manic> (Carrera 1644: 5)
 man- ic
 beber- NMLZ
 ‘cup, drinking or eating vessel, sensuous man or woman, brothel, dining room’

There are other terms similar to <manic> attested in Carrera (1644), both in absolute form and in possessive constructions. For example, <xllangic>, <xllangir> ‘tomb’ is derived from the verb <xllang-> ‘to hide’; <filuc>, <filur> ‘chair’ is derived from the verb <fel-> ‘to sit’; <ñeñuc>, <ñeñur> ‘toy’ is derived from the verb <ñeñ-> ‘to play’; <mæchæc>, <mæchær> ‘idol’ is derived from the verb <mæch-> ‘to adore’; <cunuc>, <cunur> ‘sleeping blanket’ and <catæc>, <catær> (unknown meaning) may also be derived nouns. As can be noted, the suffix <-Vc> functions as a nominalizer that derives verbs into nouns with various nuances, including instruments, patients, and places).

Interestingly, the possessed form of this nominalization is marked in the same way as the ones recorded for event nominalizations (section 7.1.1.1.) and locative nominalizations (section 7.1.1.3.); that is, with the change of final <-c> into <-r>. Example (225a) shows the <-Vc> nominalization in a possessive construction, and (225b) offers the case of the unpossessed nominalization.

(225a) <mæiñ cunur>	(225b) <cunuc>	(Carrera 1644: 5)		
Mæiñ	cun-	ur	cun-	uc
1SG.OBL	cover-	REL	cover-	DEREL
‘my blanket’			‘blanket’	

7.2. Deadjectival nominalization and stative nominalization

7.2.1. Deadjectival nominalization

Deadjectival nominalization, whereby nouns are derived from adjectives, is attested in the Mochica database, yet it is likely that not all adjectives can be nominalized. As noted by Roy (2010: 123), the ability of an adjective to be nominalized is linked to its predicativity, and consequently, the formation of deadjectival nominals is restricted by the semantic type of the adjective that constitutes the base. Taking into account a syntactic view of word formation, the nominalizing suffixes would only be attached to those adjectives that are generated in a predicative structure (Roy 2010: 124).

Deadjectival nominalizations are usually classified into two groups: *state-nominals*, which refer to a state an individual may be in, for example, *sadness*) and *quality nominals*, which refer to a quality that an individual possesses, such as *beauty* (Roy 2010: 136). All of the deadjectival nominals that I have been able to find in Carrera (1644) are *quality nominalizations*.

The derivational suffix involved in generating deadjectival nominalizations in Mochica is <-(V)ss>. For example, <peñ> ‘good’ is derived into the noun <peñ-æss> ‘goodness’ (226a). It is noteworthy that this nominalization, which can be considered to be the absolute form, has the same form when it occurs in a possessive construction, as in (226b). Other attested deadjectival nominalizations are <pissæss> ‘evil’ (Carrera 1644: 261) and <tarræss> ‘strength’ (Carrera 1644: 237).

(226a) <peñæss> (Carrera 1644: 200)

peñ- æss
 good- DEADJ.NMLZ
 ‘goodness’

(226b) <mæich peñæss> (Carrera 1644: 200)

mæich peñ- æss
 1PL.OBL good- DEADJ.NMLZ
 ‘our goodness’

Example (227) illustrates the adjective <piss> ‘bad’ or ‘evil’, inflected for plural, and modifying the nominalization <chipæc> ‘being’, ‘human being’:

(227) <pissæno chipæc> (Carrera 1644: 250)

piss- æn- o chi- pæc
 bad- PL- REL₁ be- AG.NMLZ
 ‘the bad/evil ones’

Example (228) illustrates the deadjectival nominalization of <piss>:

- (228) <xem can ñof pissæss> (Carrera 1644: 261)
- | | | | | | |
|------------|------|-----|---------|-------|------------|
| xem- | c- | an | ñof | piss- | æss> |
| take away- | BEN- | IMP | 1PL.ACC | bad- | DEADJ.NMLZ |
- ‘Dispel the evil from us’

The similarity between the nominalizing suffix <-æss> and the relational suffix <-æss> (<-(V)ss>) for alienable possessive constructions is striking (see examples (229) and (230)).

The phrase in (229) exemplifies an alienable possessive construction with the relational suffix <-Vss> attached to the possessum. Note that the suffix <-Vss> appears in this example as <-iss>.

- (229) <mæiñ cūlpiss> (Carrera 1644: 6)
- | | | |
|---------|----------|-----|
| mæiñ | cūlp- | iss |
| 1PL.OBL | blanket- | REL |
- ‘my blanket’

Example (230) shows the same nominal within a determiner phrase, where it does not take the relational suffix.

- (230) <mocūlpī> (Carrera 1644: 1)
- | | |
|----------|---------|
| mo | cūlpī |
| DET.PROX | blanket |
- ‘the blanket’

This suggests a possible connection between this deadjectival nominalizing suffix and the relational suffix, which I shall examine in the remainder of this section. Regarding the deadjectival nominalizer, Adelaar offers a tentative interpretation that deals both with the nominalizing and the relational

functions of this suffix: “Adjectives can be turned into abstract nouns by adding the suffix *-æss/-äss*, as in *peñ-æss* ‘goodness’ from *peñ* ‘good’. Such nouns are always relational.” (Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 336).

My analysis is that <-Vss> has two related, but distinct functions: 1) as a relational marker in alienable possessive constructions (as in (229)); and 2) as a deadjectival nominalizer that creates abstract nouns (as in (226a)).

Likewise, <-æss> appears to be the same suffix that is added to agentive nominalizations in their possessed form, as demonstrated in 7.1.1.2. At this point in the discussion, it is valid to ask whether the element <-æss> also helps to express finiteness, in addition to serving a relational function. Are we, in fact, dealing with a single suffix? It is highly probable that this suffix has a defining function. In general, possession is closely related to definiteness, and the occurrence of this suffix in the contexts presented here supports the argument that this suffix behaves as a determiner or an article; that is, it defines or determines.

This proposal is further supported by the fact that the relational suffix <-æss> not only appears in possessive constructions, but also in nominal phrases with quantificational interrogative pronouns, as in (231):

- (231) <Æfxiass?> (Carrera 1644: 167, 168)
- | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----|
| æf | xia- | ss |
| how many | time- | REL |
| ‘How many times?’ | | |

or with the preposition ‘without’, as in example (232):

(232) pir ixllæssna (Carrera 1644: 253)

pir	ixllæss	na
without	sin-REL	one

‘the one without sin / the one who does not have sin¹³³’

7.2.2. Stative nominalizer <-Vd-o>

Carrera (1644: 93) calls participial forms in Mochica “adjectives,” referring to their attributive characteristics. There are two participial forms, the passive participle and the active participle, and they correspond to the nominalizers <-Vd-o> and <-pæc> (the latter presented in 7.1.1.2. as an agentive nominalizer).

Whereas Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 340) refers to nominalizations with the suffix <-Vd-o> as stative nominalizations, Hovdhaugen (2004: 43, 52) identifies them as ‘participles’, ‘preterit participles’ and ‘gerund suffixes’. While the term “stative nominalization” is often used to refer to nominalizations derived from stative verbs, I adopt Adelaar’s (2004, 2011) terminology here. A stative nominalizer “can refer to an object or to the fact that an event occurs” (Adelaar 2004: 1458). Semantically, a stative nominalizer refers to a participant in an accomplished event or to one of its properties (Adelaar 2011: 371). Furthermore, on transitive verb roots a stative nominalization is co-referential with the object of the base and on intransitive verb bases, with the subject of the base (Adelaar 2011: 271).

In Mochica, there is no need for relativizers as already stated by Carrera himself (1644: 16). Thus, stative nominalization is involved in the formation

¹³³ My own translation; the text is written only in Mochica and does not offer any kind of translation.

of some relative clauses (this point is also mentioned by Adelaar ([2004] 2007a: 341)). The stative nominalizer <-Vd-o> can be decomposed into two segments: a past participle PTCP and the relational suffix <-o>, that I have glossed REL₁. Example (233) illustrates a relative clause formed with stative nominalization:

(233) <Æntaz taf queix Limac tædô ñofæn> (Carrera 1644: 16)

Æntaz ta =f queix Lima- c t- æd- ô
 NEG yet =COP return Lima- LOC go- STATIVE.NMLZ- REL₁

ñofæn

man

‘The man who went to Lima has not yet returned’

In the case of examples (234) and (235), the nominalized form behaves as an adjective, and interestingly, in (234) it accepts inflection for number and takes the plural suffix <-æn>.

(234) <læmædæno chipæc> (Carrera 1644: 236)

læm- æd- æn- o chi- pæc
 die- STATIVE.NMLZ- PL- REL₁ be- AG.NMLZ

‘the dead beings’, ‘the dead ones’

(235) <Acan az metedca llopædo ech> (Carrera 1644: 103)

Ac- an =az met- ed- ca llop- æd- o
 look- IMP =2SG bring- PTCP- PFV steal- STATIVE.NMLZ- REL₁

ech

thing

‘Look, (I hope) you have not brought something stolen’

7.3. Grammatical nominalization

Nominalization is among the most common subordination strategies in the languages of South America (Gildea 2008: 11), being characteristic of both Andean languages (van Gijn, Haude & Muysken 2011:10) and Amazonian languages (Dixon & Aikhenvald (1999: 9). As regards the role of the constituents in the matrix clauses, the subordinate clauses attested in Mochica fall into three functional types: complements, relative clauses and adverbial clauses.

As can be seen in Table 22, many of the suffixes used for lexical nominalization are also used for grammatical nominalization.

Table 22. Lexical and grammatical nominalizers

Form	Lexical nominalization	Section	Grammatical nominalization	Section
<-(V)çVc> / <-(V)ssVc>	event	7.1.1.1.	complementation causal-adverbial	7.3.2. 7.3.3.1.
<-(V)pVc>	agentive	7.1.1.2.	embedded argument “headless relative”	7.3.1.
<-tVc>	locative	7.1.1.3.		
<-Vc>	locative, instrumental, etc.	7.1.1.4.		
<-(V)d-o>	stative	7.2.2.	relativization	7.3.1.

7.3.1. Nominalizations serving a relativizing function

At least two of the nominalization constructions discussed above, namely agentive nominalization with the <-(V)pæc> nominalizer (seen in 7.1.1.2.) and the <-Vd-o> stative nominalizer (presented in 7.2.2.), serve a relativizing function in Mochica, as can be observed in examples (236), (237) and (238) respectively.

Examples (236) and (237) are cases of headless relative clauses formed with the suffix <-(V)pæc>:

(236) <Tzhichfe [sic] ænta missa acapæc> (Carrera 1644: 44)

Tzhæich-	fe	ænta	missa	ac-	apæc
2PL-	COP	NEG	mass	hear/listen-	AG.NMLZ

‘You are the ones who do not listen to mass.’

(237) <aioæne chang tunapæc> (Carrera 1644: 44)

aio-	æn	e	chang	tun-	apæc
that-	PL	COP	brother	kill-	AG.NMLZ

‘those are killers.’

In example (238), the suffix <-Vd-o> has a relativizing function:

(238) <Æntaz taf queix Limac tædô ñofæn> (Carrera 1644: 16)

Æntaz	ta	=f	queix	Lima-	c	t-	æd-	ô
NEG	yet	=COP	return	Lima-	LOC	go-	STATIVE.NMLZ-	REL ₁

ñofæn

man

‘The man who went to Lima has not yet returned’

7.3.2. Nominalization serving a complementation function

In the case of complement clause formation in Mochica, the nominalizer involved is <-(V)ssVc> / <-(V)çVc> (section 3.1.). See the relevant examples in (239) and (240).

(239) Confessar læçæc fe poc penitencia (Carrera 1644: 233)

Confessar	l-	æçæc	fe	poc
Confess	be-	EVENT.NMLZ	COP	name/call

penitencia.

penance

‘The confession is called Penance.’

(240) <la lecçæc tæ çæc fe poc Baptismo> (Carrera 1644: 233)

la	lecç-	æc	t-	æçæc	fe	poc
water	head-	LOC	go-	EVENT.NMLZ	COP	name/call

Baptismo

Baptism

‘Getting water on the head is called Baptism.’

7.3.3. Nominalization serving an adverbial function

Adverbial clauses can be defined as clausal entities that modify, in a general sense, a verb phrase or a main clause, and express a conceptual-semantic concept such as simultaneity, causality, conditionality, etc. (Hetterle 2015: 2).

7.3.3.1. *Adverbial causal clauses with the nominalizer <-(V)ssVc>*

In Mochica, one type of adverbial clause that originated in a nominalization can be identified: the causal clause.

Example (241) illustrates an adverbial causal clause with the event nominalizer <-(V)ssVc>.

(241) <Santa Iglesiang ssap mænoix cæp, christiano chissæc> (Carrera 1644: 231)

Santa Iglesia- ang ssap mæn =oix cæp,

Holy Church- OBL word ACOL =1PL pay,

christiano chi- ssæc

christian be- EVENT.NMLZ

‘According to the Holy Church’s teaching, we pay (tithe is implied) because of being Christians’.

7.4. Conclusions

The religious texts written exclusively in Mochica with no Spanish translations, included in the grammatical description of Fernando de la Carrera (1644), offer an insight into this language, and in spite of the limited information, it is still possible to approach it systematically.

With regard to nominalization in Mochica, two processes are identifiable: (a) lexical nominalization, a derivational process that creates lexical nouns from other lexical categories such as verbs and adjectives; and (b) grammatical nominalization, a syntactic process that “allows a clause to function as a noun phrase within a broader syntactic context” (Genetti et al. 2008: 98, 116). As has been shown, some nominalizers in Mochica form part of both lexical

nominalization and grammatical nominalization, which shows that the distinction between these two processes is not very well defined.

With regard to lexical nominalization, by which a noun is derived from other lexical entities, Mochica exhibits the following suffixes: (1) the very versatile nominalizer <-Vc>, which can function as a locative nominalizer, an instrumental nominalizer and an agentive nominalizer; (2) a set of multiple nominalizers, each dedicated to specific functions: the event nominalizer <-(V)ssVc> / <-çVc>, the agentive nominalizer <-(V)pVc> and the locative nominalizer <-tVc>; (3) the deadjectival nominalizer <-Vss>; and (4) the stative nominalizer <-Vdo>.

Interestingly, some of these nominalizers share a sequence that corresponds to the <-Vc> nominalizer. With respect to the nominalizers sharing the <-Vc> ending, one can assume that only the consonantal morphemes in this recurrent suffix would be the elements that assign different semantics to each of the cases (event, instrumental, and agentive nominalizers).

Nominalization serves relativizing, complementation and adverbial functions. Some lexical nominalizers, namely, the event nominalizer, the agentive nominalizer and the stative nominalizer, are used in grammatical nominalization constructions. This fact shows that the distinction between lexical and grammatical nominalization in Mochica is not clear-cut as reported for the Aguaruna nominalizations (Overall 2017: 487).